



R-B
JK 321.B8

Accessions	Shelf No.
356,167	4213.67

H. U.

Received Nov. 29, 1884.

15
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE

IN RELATION TO

15
THE REBELLION

IN THE

UNITED STATES.



BALTIMORE:
PRINTED BY JOHN D. TOY.

1863.

81589

Wm. Everett, Esq.

Aug. 7. 1867.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE

IN RELATION TO THE

REBELLION IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE following sketch of the Southern conspiracy against the United States Government, was elicited by letters from France of two distinguished ladies to their mutual friends in America. The husband of one of these ladies holds an important position under the French Government, and it was deemed of some consequence to correct the erroneous opinions which emissaries of the Southern Confederacy, so industriously circulate in foreign countries.

LETTER FROM MADAME DE M.

(TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.)

“ PARIS, *July 17, 1863.*

“ *My dear Madam P. and Madam W.*

“ Do not think me indifferent, or lightly touched with the evils which have come upon your beloved country. We follow with deep anxiety in the public journals, the terrible accounts of bloody battles of brethren in arms against each other; fellow-citizens seeking to destroy each other;—and where, which ever party may triumph, it is always your republic which bleeds, suffers, and is enfeebled;—and always, the poor women—mothers, wives, sisters and friends, who are struck to the hearts' core. Alas, it had seemed, that in the excellent institutions founded by you, two sisters, you had done much for the Union of the States; and that the young girls assembled from all parts of your immense empire, educated together, companions and friends, would form lasting friendships, and cement the bonds of fraternity throughout the country. You gave a *centre* in one common education. I had read with much emotion, the touching appeal of Madam W. to Congress, and flattered myself, that it might have had its effect.

“This interminable struggle appears so much the more inexplicable and impious, as it seems to me that the progress of human intelligence, would have produced, without disunion, or the effusion of blood, the emancipation demanded. * * * * *

We feel great inquietude for you, dear Madam P. on account of the invasion of the Southern army into Maryland:—and are more, than ever, anxious to receive news of your dear son. We know the anguish of your heart at this time. * * * This severing, into two parts, of your beloved country, is something so fearful, and which no possible explanation can enable me to understand.—*A calm, reasoning people to rush to the arbitrament of the sword on a question of philanthropy, is an aberration of intelligence which is truly incomprehensible.*”

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MADAME B.

* * * * *

“I feel as deeply as my dear A. all that she expresses in her letter. May it please our merciful God, to put an end to this raging conflict, which is a dreadful struggle of brothers against brothers, fathers against sons.” * * * * *

Answer to the preceding letters, explaining that the war on the part of the United States Government, is not “*on a question of philanthropy.*”

EUTAW-PLACE, Baltimore, Aug 1, 1863.

My Dear Friends:

Your kind letters are duly received, and your sympathy appreciated; but I perceive you do not understand the causes of this terrific conflict which is raging in our country. You say, “it is unaccountable that a reasonable, intelligent people should rush to the arbitrament of the sword, upon a question of philanthropy.” In other words, you infer that the people of the North, in their zeal for the emancipation of slaves, have attacked the people of the South, and are killing their white brethren, and devastating their homes for the sake of the negro.

I perceive, in this opinion of yours, the subtle influences of traitors abroad, who have sought for foreign aid and sympathy, by disseminating this false and perverted view of the cause of the contest.

When I had the pleasure some nine years since, to enjoy your society in France, I perceived that your prejudices were against the South, and Southern slavery. I then forewarned you that there were dangerous

elements in our country, which threatened disunion;—that I feared Abolitionists, set on by foreign enemies, and their own fanaticism;—it was well known that English gold had been freely expended to circulate publications of an incendiary character, which were purposely thrown in the way of slave owners, to excite their indignation against the North. Abolitionists themselves, in their zeal for emancipation, were reckless of the guarantees of the Constitution of our country to slave owners; they were willing to destroy the Constitution, and the Union with it, in their infatuation. Here was, indeed, false philanthropy: and were this an *Abolition war*, you might well exclaim against such *philanthropy*—destroying our brethren for the sake of an uncertain good to their servants! In England there were Abolitionists from principle, and politicians who saw in this movement the means of destroying a national power, of which they were ever jealous.

The Abolition party composed but a small proportion of the people of the free States. In general, it was regarded as fanatical, and dangerous to the Union. Abolition meetings were condemned in most parts of the country, so that it had become unsafe to attempt to organize such assemblages. The *fugitive slave law* was enforced with little or no opposition in the most decided anti-slavery communities. It was a recognized law of the land, and, as such, obeyed.

But there had long been a party at the South who were ambitious of supreme power, jealous of Northern energy and Northern intellect; they desired to govern entirely, separate from all associations with those who did not live under “the refining, ennobling influences of slavery,” which, in their opinion, placed them above those who did not enjoy its advantages. There were indeed slaveholders, as our great statesmen, Jefferson and Madison, who regarded slavery as an evil, and would have used their influence for its gradual abolition. The Colonization Society numbered among its members many prominent Southern philanthropists. In Maryland and Virginia, some families whose wealth consisted chiefly of slaves, sent them at their own expense to Liberia, thus impoverishing themselves. The names of Mercer and Murray stand prominent in this movement. Henry Clay, a slave owner, was long President of the Colonization Society.

In our national councils the subject of slavery has been a source of much agitation. “*Free-Soilism*” became a party *Shibboleth*—slave owners contended for the right to carry their property, or in other words, their slaves, wherever they pleased within the boundaries of the United States territory;—while men who advocated the rights of the slave States as guaranteed by the Constitution, objected to the farther increase of slave territory. They said, “slavery is an evil where it

exists, we have no right to interfere with it, but we will oppose the farther extension of this blot upon humanity." Southern politicians saw in the increase of free States, dangers to their institution. If conscientious, they might have seen in this, the manifest designs of Providence that slavery should eventually cease, and would have submitted to the decrees of the Almighty, thus plainly manifested. With God and man against them, how could they expect to carry out their determination that slavery should not only exist where it then was, but should grow with the growth of the country!

A majority of the people of the free states had cheerfully borne the unpopularity of the slave institution among other nations; it was the inheritance of their Southern brethren, not to be suddenly removed without danger, both to them and to the blacks; and they saw, with alarm, any attempts to agitate so dangerous a subject; they were willing to leave it with that great Being, who had permitted this fungous growth upon the body politic. But of this number, were many who were firm in their opposition to the further growth of this excrescence. In considering the subject of slavery as it existed under its most favorable aspect, there were features, not repulsive to philanthropy, but the rather agreeable. While the blacks ministered to the comforts and support of their master's families, they were usually cared for, and lived in a state of exemption from many of the trials to which the poor are subjected in the free States. Many beautiful examples of mutual love and confidence between the masters and mistresses, and their families, on the one side, and the slaves on the other, might be cited. There was a relation between them not to be appreciated by strangers. If the master could say, "my servant;" the words, "my master," or "my mistress," implied obligations of kindness, support in sickness and health, and the bearing with unfaithfulness or ill-temper, such as would at once cause the discharge of a hireling. The Southern master paid dearly for the service he received, but he often calculated little as to the profits of the slave labor—the slave belonged to his family, and he was bound to take care of him.

I am not now to enter upon the question as to the right of holding slaves, or the moral effects of the system. Slavery appears to have been sanctioned in the days of the patriarchs; and in the New Testament is not prohibited. That there are bad masters who abuse their power, is an argument which might be used against the domestic relations, as there are tyrannical husbands and fathers.

You, my dear friends, had received your opinions from such books as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which give exceptions for rules, showing only the darkest shades of the picture—I have seen slavery under a very different aspect.

It is, indeed, an awful and appalling subject; as such, I have ever regarded it. It seemed in its various bearings beyond the grasp of my intellect. It existed—God had so willed:—We now see our country agitated by intestine divisions, which have doubtless, in a great degree, originated from it; and yet, as I shall proceed to explain to you, the United States Government have not made war upon the South for the sake of emancipation. If this shall be the result of a rebellion deliberately engaged in by the South; then will the will of God be manifested in the removal of the evil of slavery from our country. But, by the return of the seceded States into the Union, the guarantees of the Government to the slave States will doubtless be held sacred, and the institution in loyal States remain undisturbed.

But to return to the origin of the war;—it will be the office of History to trace the various causes which have been in operation to alienate the two sections of our great empire, and to bring opposition to the point of secession and rebellion.

The interests of Northern commerce and manufacturers, were, in some cases, opposed to the interests of Southern trade. Thus the tariff or tax upon foreign manufacturers in aid of those of the Northern States, was considered as partial in its operation; and South Carolina, in 1832, resolved to *nullify* the laws of Congress, or in other words, to set up an independent sovereignty; this rebellion was promptly put down by President Jackson, and there was no war.

A restless spirit among Southern politicians moved them, during the late administration, to divide from their political friends of the North; in consequence of this division, the Republican party, though in the minority, elected Abraham Lincoln, for President, known as an anti-slavery man, though not of the abolition clique. As a former member of Congress, he had voted against abolition measures. Southern politicians seized the pretext of Mr. Lincoln's election, to mature their plans for disunion, exciting the fears of the South, that under the new administration, their rights would be trampled upon, their property insecure, and their liberties invaded. We see Southern men holding the highest offices under the National Government, combining together at Washington, to carry forward their schemes. We may see them going from the Cabinet meetings held to consult for the welfare of the nation which they had sworn to serve faithfully—to meet in their secret conclaves; where they devised how each Cabinet Minister, aided by Senators and others in high official stations, might best *misuse* the confidence reposed in him, by defrauding the Treasury, by weakening the military power, diverting the army from important posts, and sending South supplies of arms and ammunition—to be ready for the new Southern Confederacy, which then existed, in embryo.

We have seen oppressed nations rising to assert these rights—but here we find the chief men of a nation conspiring against it, and using the power confided to them, for its overthrow. Such was the rebellion in its inception. We had not a Jackson at the head of the nation. President Buchanan ever devoted to Southern interests, was doubtless blinded to the active treason around him.

The plan as agreed upon among the leaders in the rebellion, was to induce the slaveholding states to withdraw from the National Government, and form a Southern Confederacy. Maryland, which had ceded to the United States, for a Capitol, the District of Columbia, was to secede, and claim her territory; the Confederacy would then take possession of the Capitol, at Washington, the Treasury buildings, the General Post Office, and all public offices and buildings: the officers of the army and navy were considered as mostly secure to the South. So great had been the Southern influence in our National Councils, that in our military and naval schools there had been a preponderance of Southern young men. Things being thus brought about as was expected by the conspirators, there would be no war, no bloodshed, none of that coercive power which secessionists have so strongly denounced. So great was the confidence of the movers in this scheme, that they began to talk freely of the happy future which awaited the glorious, ennobling aristocratic, Slave-Government—like the milk-maid in the fable counting her chickens before they were hatched, they saw in imagination the Border States begging for admission—Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, possibly might be received, but “as for the New England States, they should be rejected with contempt, *left out* to dwindle down to utter insignificance, to suffer for the means of sustenance, and to starve in intellectual destitution.” I quote from the remarks of a leading and highly intelligent Southern gentleman, in conversation with myself, in the winter of 1860, a few months before the attack on Fort Sumter, which may be considered as the beginning of the war. This Fort, which commanded Charleston, the Secretary of War had suffered to become almost useless, for want of men to defend it, or to make aggressive movements. When, owing to startling revelations of Southern seizures of United States’ property, Mr. Buchanan authorized the reinforcement of Fort Sumter, the conspirators attacked the garrison and caused it to surrender; the flag of the nation was prostrated, and that of the new confederacy waved over the captured Fortress.

This was the beginning of the war.—You will perceive it was not a raid upon the South to free negroes; it was an attack of conspirators upon the national flag, the seizure of a national fort, the beginning of

that dreadful conflict which you so feelingly deplore. You will perceive that this war was not begun by the North, through a mistaken philanthropy, but in defense of the national existence. There are indications that in its effects, it may ultimately result in the extinction of slavery, if so, the South have but to blame themselves for rushing into certain evils, through fear of what might come. Certain, it is, that many who opposed any interference with the rights of the South, as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, now consider these rights as justly imperilled by the rebellion, and that the Slave States have only themselves, or their leaders to blame for this danger to their institution. Still, our National Government holds out to all the seceded States encouragement to lay down their arms; and it is hoped the time is not far distant, when our whole country will be once more at peace within its vast extent; our Southern brethren welcomed back to the old home of their ancestors,—and, with principles of purer and firmer patriotism, to the Councils of the Nation.

What, but ultimate defeat could have been expected, on considering the vast resources of the country of which the States, in rebellion, constituted but a comparatively small portion? Doubtless, the leaders in the conspiracy depended on carrying their measures by adroit management, rather than by force of arms. Unfortunate circumstances, for the country, aided their machinations; the hood-winked President allowed the conflagration to get under strong headway, before making an attempt to arrest its progress; and the cry of “*no coercive measures*” was re-echoed from the South among the conservative party of the North, who, loyal themselves, could not believe that actual rebellion against the Government, was really intended by the South. That there were traitors in the free and non-seceded States, who cried out against coercion, we know—and the Abolition party were willing to have the rebellion go on, which might forever separate free soil from slave territory. Thus complicated, were parties in the country. The present administration came into power under the most gloomy auspices.

President Lincoln having taken the solemn oath to defend the Constitution, and the interests of the United States, had no alternative but war with the insurgents. The National Government which had been declared too powerless for resistance, sprung forward, determined and united. The Constitution had given power to raise men and means, in case of necessity, without the long delays of Congressional action; and the country soon saw this power in motion. If the President departed from customary usages, it was because “the times were out of joint,” and demanded measures to meet the exigencies of rebellion and intestine war. For this he has been called a tyrant;—you can judge

whether his duty did not call him to act promptly and energetically; and even to go beyond the customary prerogatives of the executive, when dangers threatened on every side. Even the ordinary processes of civil law must be set aside under the stern pressure of military necessity. Let the blame rest upon the authors of this "military necessity." Suppose a son to set fire to his father's house, and then complain because the furniture was injured in the efforts to extinguish the conflagration. The apartments of the house would in such case be put to very different uses from what they were intended;—firemen would be posted in private rooms, and the servants in the house might be taken from their usual employments to assist in putting out the fire.

I hope this brief history of the beginning of this desperate warfare between brethren, which you consider as so inexplicable, believing it to be waged through a false philanthropy for the liberation of slaves, will convince you that the war was forced upon the National Government for its own preservation. No offensive acts had been attempted against the rights of the South, previous to the breaking out of the rebellion; one of the very last Acts of Congress, in March, 1861, was to vote that the slave States remaining loyal should be protected in their slave property. This was but a renewal of previous Acts, but considered proper to allay the fears that a Republican administration would attack the rights of the South. There was a Republican majority in Congress when this additional guarantee was offered, and a distinguished member of the House of Representatives,* said, "let us do all we can, constitutionally, to satisfy our Southern brethren; for myself I would take back ought offensive to them, which in the heat of debate I may have said. If we should have but one slave State left, out of the pale of secession, I would the more sacredly guard the constitutional rights of that State."

Look upon the map of North America for the natural boundaries of the American nation; two great oceans bound it on the East and West; from the grandest chain of lakes on the globe, to the great Gulf, and almost to the Southern Ocean, are the Northern and Southern limits. The great Mississippi, with its tributaries, the Potomac and other navigable waters in the interior of the country, like the grand arteries in the human system, must be free to the whole country; as well might we expect an organized body to exist dissevered, as for our country to live in a dismembered state.

* Mr. Stanton of Ohio. His remarks are quoted from memory, as heard by the writer; his solemn manner can never be forgotten—nor the candor with which he acknowledged that he might have erred, by irritating Southern feelings. Thus, indeed, there have been great faults committed.

The present rebellion is often compared to the American revolution; and by a great fallacy in reasoning, attempts are made to justify it upon this ground. But let us mark the differences in the two movements.

1st. The American Colonies were subjected to taxation without representation.

2d. They had never given consent to hold the relation to the government of England, which the latter claimed.

3d. The Colonies were separated from the parent country by the great ocean barriers.

4th. It was *inexpedient* to remain under the government of a distant foreign power: and when all appeals for justice were disregarded, a Congress of the people declared the Colonies an independent nation. The Lord favored their just cause, and after a long struggle their object was attained. The States entered into a solemn compact with each other for mutual defence, trade, commerce, &c. After some years the original compact being found deficient in the centralization and power of the General Government, the *people* of the country (not the *States*, though acting through them,) sent delegates to a National Convention, and agreed upon a perpetual, indissoluble Union, with stronger powers for its preservation from intestine divisions, or foreign aggression. President Jackson, in 1832, when putting down the attempt in South Carolina to nullify the laws of the United States, said in his spirited proclamation, "any assumed power by a State to annul a law of the United States, is incompatible with the Constitution of the Union, absolutely in violation of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, contradictory to all the principles on which it is founded, and tending to destroy the great object for which it was formed." He farther declared, "that any attempt at disunion by an armed force was treason, and should be treated accordingly."

Let us see how far the present rebellion is justified by the American revolution.

1st. The Southern States had their *full representation* in the National Councils. Their slave property entitled them to a proportional number of representatives in Congress.

2d. The Southern States had voluntarily entered into a national compact, declared by themselves to be indissoluble.

3d. Instead of physical barriers between the Southern and Northern States, there exists such a system of navigable waters and sea coast communication, as naturally to hold them together as one nation.

4th. Expediency is on the side of the Union. On looking over the map of Europe, and considering the poor condition of the various petty states which exist there—the system of passports, and other annoyances

to which those are subjected who would pass from one principality to another, every rational mind must be struck with the superior condition of a great empire, where one language, one postal system, and one general code of laws prevail;—and then let us reflect on the prestige of our great empire among the nations of the earth! Are all these advantages to be counted for nothing, all to be sacrificed to the ambitious designs of a few intriguing politicians! The mass of the Southern people did not desire disunion, but they were falsely made to believe their rights were invaded, and that *honor* called them to become traitors. There is love between the North and South, when not disturbed by fanaticism on the one hand, and suspicion on the other. This love, we hope yet to see permitted to shew itself. When we hear of wounded soldiers on the battle fields taking each other by the hand, and expressing kindly sympathies—when we learn that pickets of the opposing armies, if allowed to approach near enough to converse, address each other in terms of kindness, and mutually express the wish that “this cruel war were over,” can we doubt, that if obstacles were removed, hearts which have been sundered would rebound in mutual love and confidence; and hands now ready to shed blood, be warmly grasped as in former years, by school and college friends, by beloved companions of happier days,—aye, and by fathers and sons, brethren, and other near and dear kindred, now so wretched in their alienation! Can we believe too, that the flag of the nation which our mutual ancestors so cherished, would not be again contemplated with love and joy by the sons returning as the prodigal, to their fathers’ home!

How much longer this war may continue, we know not; the Almighty has permitted it as a punishment for our national sins, and He may not see us yet sufficiently humiliated. The true patriot and philanthropist will mourn for the sufferings of the South as for his own—for we are all brethren. When the light of peace shall dawn upon us through the destruction of the power of the rebellion, (for in no other case can this be expected,) then will there be a solemn call upon our rulers for wisdom and moderation, together with firmness, to follow the dictates of humanity in the settlement of the important questions which will be forced upon their consideration. Then may our beloved country emerge from the present fearful struggle, more worthy of its high destiny—proving that man may live under a free government, which yet has power to protect itself;—and where arts, manufactures, education, and religion may be cultivated and protected.

A. H. L. P.

